l: Karsten--229 [3] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 862, 784, 852 (1928-29)

"The Indian women suckle their children for a far longer time than is customary among civilized peoples, often for two or three years, or even longer. If the parents fast well during these years, strictly keeping the rules prescribed by custom in other respects also, the child will develop rapidly, get healthy, vigorous, and robust. When the fasting ends, the parents make a special feast for the little one, the 'feast of the children', at which a magical medicine is given it by an old man or woman. With this feast the first period of the education of the child ends. Should the parents neglect all these rules, should they not fast well and make no feast, the result would be that the child would not grow and develop well but soon pine away and die."

1: Karsten--234-235 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 852, 862 (1928-29)

"The 'feast of the children' is called Uchiáuratai or Uchiáuka. Uchiauratai (áuratahei) is literally: 'I will give (the child) drops of tsinsimba'. The very name indicates that the medicine prepared from the plant tsinsimba, which was given to the child immediately after it was born, also plays the most important part at the 'feast of the children'. As we have already seen, the leaves of the plant are chewed and mixed with saliva by the old man or woman who acts as a priest or priestess; this medicine has a particular name: ambára. It is ceremonially dropped into the child's mouth twice during the two days that the feast proper [235] lasts, early in the morning and at noon. Drinking manioc-beer and eating also form part of the 'feast of the children'. Its general significance is the same as that of other great feasts: mysterious powers above all power to resist evil spirits--are believed to be imparted to the young child, not only for the time being but especially for the future. This power is chiefly due to the magical properties ascribed to the tsinsimba plant itself, but naturally also to the saliva of the old man or woman, the incantations, etc. After it is over the father is no longer obliged to diet, at least not so rigorously as hitherto, and the child is allowed to eat any kind of food. It definitely ceases to be a sucking-child and is henceforward reckoned among the bigger children."

4: Up de Graff--219-220 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
854, 862

"One or two of the women are carrying babies slung in a small cloth hammock on the back. One of them is nursing a baby which cannot be less than three years old. (This is a common custom, which appears to us both strange and undesirable. The Antipa women do not wean their infants until they are grown to the kindergarten stage as we know it. They even pack them long after they can walk, run and swim. Thus the step from babyhood to marriage is only a matter of seven or eight years. [220]

Another woman is nursing her baby when she remembers the young monkey curled up on her head. It too she treats as her own offspring, and suckles it with the same care as she does her son. (This is common among the Indians of the Amazon, be they semi-civilized or savage.)"

26: Brüning--70 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 862, 163, 156

I gained the impressions that there were not many children around. This would explain why mothers suckle their children--as I was told--up to the age of four. I saw it with my own eyes that the children ran to the mother and asked for the breast. The little girls whom I have seen were very timid and clung to their mother as soon as one of us approached; they even refused to accept gifts. The boys, however, were different, and I made friends with them easily.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

child, and the words of it are addressed to the mother to come back from the garden to nurse the infant:

Dear mother, dear mother
Come soon, come soon.
The baby is crying,
The baby is crying.
For lack of your milk,
It will die.
For lack of your milk,
It will die.
Dear mother, come quickly,
Dear mother, come quickly,
The little monkey is singing,
The little monkey is singing.

Often the mother does not return for several hours, and the baby-tender often attempts to satisfy the infant's hunger by chewing up boiled manioc and spitting it into the baby's mouth. Any other mothers in the household who may be lactating do not offer to feed the baby, and wet-nursing is unknown. If a mother finds herself unable to provide the baby with enough milk, she feeds it masticated manioc or a bit of beer.

When the baby begins teething it will also be fed steamed hearts of palm with a consistency softer than that of boiled noodles. Small bits of chewed meat are provided soon thereafter.

The birth of a new baby normally does not entail the weaning of the earlier one, and it is a common sight to see an infant and a four- or five-year-old being fed by the mother, with one at each breast. Puppies are highly valued and cared for by the women, and one may likewise be seen being breast-fed simultaneously by a woman along with

854 533 539 853 862 • [231]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

her own infant. Weaning is not emphasized and may not take place until the child is six or seven years old. The mother may accomplish this by putting a mildly hot pepper on her nipples. If that has little effect, she has recourse to a hotter variety.

The infant is wrapped loosely in a piece of cloth, which is taken off and used, with water, to wipe the child clean of excrement. The cloth is then washed and dried over a fire for reuse. A baby's excessive crying may be interpreted as evidence that it is "very hot," i.e., has a fever, and the mother may bathe it in lukewarm water to cool the child sufficiently so that it will fall asleep. Sometimes a mother, on being awakened by a baby's crying, will scold and strike it in anger.

To teach the child to walk, the father lashes a stave railing around the three open sides of the mother's bed to create a simple "crib" which the child can grasp for support.

The attitude toward toilet training is quite relaxed. When a toddler starts to defecate or urinate in the house, it is taken outside; but it is not castigated verbally or otherwise. The mother simply digs up the soiled portion of the dirt floor and throws it out. The simplicity of this solution, together with the fact that adults themselves may urinate on the floor at night to avoid exposing themselves to possible attackers outside the house, helps one understand their attitude. Later, the child is simply told to go outside, but if it fails to do so, there is no condemnatory admonition. Finally, however, if the child is still failing to go out of the house by the time it is about five years old, then the mother will speak her disapproval. As a last resort, she may spank the child lightly with a vine.

Children are encouraged to wash their hands and to bathe. They are told that if they do not wash their hands before eating, their growth will be delayed and stunted. Girls are